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## ISSUES OF TOTALITARIAN PERIOD MONUMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR

Abstract: The article focuses on the issue of monuments that commemorated figures and events related to the communist period, i.e., the period from the 1950s to the late 1980s. At that time, countries that were in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence, such as Poland or Ukraine, emphasized the merits and contributions that the USSR had in their liberation and development in many ways (erecting monuments, giving specific names to streets). Over the years, these monuments became important elements of the cultural landscape of larger and smaller cities within both countries. After the end of the communist regime, some such objects remained to commemorate this difficult and painful historical period. In Poland, these objects were removed, and the streets were given other names, but in Ukraine the monuments mostly remained because they were seen primarily for their artistic value. Now, however, at the time of Ukraine's war with Russia, these objects are already perceived quite differently, aggravating public resentment against the ruthless aggressor.

Keywords: Ukraine, Poland, communist period, monuments, cultural heritage

#### Introduction

Russian aggression exacerbated the issue of the fate of monuments related to the deprivation of Ukraine's independence during the Russian Empire and later Soviet times. However, these processes can be considered logical in accordance with the ones that are taking place now in many countries of the world. Against the background of discussions about the preservation of those monuments that bear imperial and colonial ideology, and were often created by the best sculptors and from expensive materials, it is worth recalling the processes of demolishing monuments to slave traders and colonizers in the United States of America and Great Britain.

Most often, such processes are triggered by some event. For example, in May 2020 it was the death of George Floyd, a black American who was detained by the police in Minneapolis. His death at the hands of a police officer caused powerful anti-racist movements not only in the United States of America, but also in other countries. These processes led to the destruction of monuments to figures of the colonial past. A crowd of demonstrators toppled a three-meter statue of Christopher Columbus in St. Paul, Minnesota, and a few hours later

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a statue of Jefferson Davis on a parkway in Richmond, Virginia, suffered the same fate. The arguments were that Davis was the leader of the secessionist South during the American Civil War, and the arrival of Columbus led to the colonization of North and South America by Europeans and eventually to the genocide of the indigenous population and racial oppression. In Richmond, a statue of Columbus was thrown into a lake, and in Boston the head of another one was cut off. According to preliminary estimates in 2019, 55 million people died as a result of the colonization. Even the fact that the Davis monument dated back to 1907 did not protect it.

The process of demolishing monuments under the slogan "Black Lives Matter" resulted in the destruction of thirty-three Columbus monuments.

It gained such publicity and scale that some of the monuments were removed by the city authorities themselves, so as not to provoke protesters. This was done by the city administrations of Bridgeport, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Chicago and Harford. Monuments to the bearers of colonial policy and slave ownership were vandalized in Boston, Miami and many cities in the state of Virginia; in total, about sixty monuments to civil war figures on the side of the slave-owning South were demolished.

These processes also spilled over into Western Europe, where a statue of Edward Colson was thrown into the harbor in Bristol, Great Britain, and a bust of King Leopold II was dismantled in Belgium in connection with the colonization of the Congo.

Poland has also experienced the existence and subsequent removal from public spaces of monuments associated with the past system - the communist period.

The erection of monuments, as well as naming streets with specific names to commemorate figures associated with the communist period, was a process resulting from the political strategy of the time, that is, the period from the 1950s to the late 1980s.

First of all, let us outline what the authors mean exactly by monuments of totalitarian periods. In this case, these are imperial Russian monuments and monuments of the Soviet period. The problem is that a significant part of them were executed by the best sculptors of those periods and are distinguished by high artistic skill and expensive materials.

A separate problem is the fate of Soviet-era monuments dedicated to the Great Patriotic War, since in most cities and villages of Ukraine, before the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war, a large number of monuments to Soviet soldiers were preserved. They remained at their places even when, after 2014, most of the monuments of the totalitarian regime were destroyed or dismantled.

The Lviv region has reported the completion of the decommunization process. At the same time, village communities sometimes still oppose dismantling



Fig. 1. Monument to Soviet soldiers-liberators in the Mykolaiv region. Photo by S. Belinskyi, 2022

monuments to Soviet soldiers, considered to be memorials to fellow villagers who died in the war (Fig. 1).

Another problem is related to totalitarian monuments of the Russian Empire. People may have different attitudes towards them. For example, a monument to Empress Catherine II was dismantled in Odessa, while the monument to the city founder, Armand de Richelieu, was preserved and protected (Fig. 2, 3).

The purpose of the study is to analyze problems related to the fate of monuments of totalitarian periods during the Russian-Ukrainian war. To achieve the goal, the authors have characterized and evaluated phenomena associated with decolonization and decommunization during the Russian-Ukrainian war and analyzed the experiences of other countries in solving such problems. Publications that raise the issue of artistic criteria<sup>2</sup>, texts emphasizing the aspect of style formation<sup>3</sup>, as well as scientometric sources highlighting the tragedy of the Russian-Ukrainian war<sup>4</sup> have been used in the research.

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#### Materials and methods

The research was conducted on the territory of Poland and Ukraine with the involvement of the experience of other countries. The tasks of the research determined the choice of general scientific research methods. Photo fixation was chosen as the main one, to document the situation of totalitarian period

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monuments in Ukraine and Poland. Historical analysis made it possible to analyze and discuss the causes of decommunization in different countries, and comparative analysis was used to compare these phenomena in Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania, and then to compare them to the decolonization process in the USA and Britain.



Fig. 2. Protecting the monument to Armand de Richelieu in Odessa. Photo by S. Belinskyi, 2022



Fig. 3. Protecting the monument to Armand de Richelieu with sandbags. Odessa, March 2022. Photo by S. Belinskyi

#### Results and discussion

#### Polish and Lithuanian experience of decommunization

Examples of monuments from this period, which were dominant in Cracow's public space, were the monument to Ivan Konev in the Widok housing estate, in Cracow's Bronowice district, and the monument to Lenin in Nowa Huta.

The monument to Ivan Konev, an honorary citizen of Cracow from 1955 to 1992, who was to liberate Cracow from German captivity according to the communist authorities, is the work of Antoni Hajdecki. It was erected in 1987, dismantled in 1991 and handed over to the city council of Kiev, where Konev came from. The dismantling of the monument was the result of a resolution adopted in 1990 by the city council of Kiev on the liquidation of monuments that symbolized the Soviet rule<sup>5</sup>.



Fig. 4. Konev's monument in Cracow-Bronowice in 1987. Photo [in:] FA Archive, CUT

M. Żukow-Karczewski (1991) Krakowskich pomników dzieje niełatwe, "Kraków Magazyn Kulturalny", 4 (32); P. Stachnik (2017) https://naszahistoria.pl/koniew-w-krakowie-ani-miasta-nie-ocalil-ani-na-cokole-dlugo-nie-postal/ar/11659862, [accessed: 15.02.2024]; https://www.poczet krakowski.pl/tomy/show\_article,honorowi-obywatele-krakowa-z-podgorzem-i-laureaci-medalu-cracoviae-merenti-w-bazie-marmurze-obiekty-juz-nieistniejace-4884.html; [accessed: 15.02. 2024].

The other example is the massive statue of Vladimir Lenin, which stood from 1973 to 1989 on the Avenue of Roses near Cracow's Central Square. The monument depicted Lenin as a strong and dynamic person. It was made of bronze, on a granite pedestal, and was designed by Marian Konieczny, a prominent Polish sculptor. It was located in what was then a workers' district, including a combine named the Lenin Steelworks admired by the communist authorities of the time. At the end of communism in Poland, the monument began to stir controversy. An old bicycle and worn-out shoes were placed next to it to symbolize the public's call for the monument's removal. Eventually, the monument was moved to a fort in Wróblowice and then sold to a private person from abroad<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 5. Lenin's monument in Cracow - Nowa Huta in 1975. Photo [in:] FA Archive, CUT

Although relating to the past, the issue in question is also relevant today, when we are aware that the times of communism have passed, leaving their legacy in various forms – including monuments and entire working-class neighborhoods (such as Nowa Huta in Cracow). The issues are complex for several other reasons. Sometimes these monuments, despite symbolizing negative events, have artistic value depicting part of the country's unwanted and imposed history.

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Despite the removal of both monuments, they are still remembered today. This is because they were objects that influenced public sentiment, elements in the city space unwanted by many, but nevertheless present in the cultural landscape of Cracow.

It is worth noting that in March 2022, the concrete pedestal (which still exists today), left after the Konev monument, was painted blue and yellow, i.e. in Ukrainian national colors. In this way, the originators paid tribute to the defenders of Ukraine and expressed their opposition to the ongoing war. A year later, in 2023, there were calls to erect a new monument in place of the pedestal, which would be "a monument to the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Russian aggressor."

This shows that humanity in the 21st century has reconsidered its attitude to genocide and slavery, and now we are witnessing the reverse process: if by the end of the 20th century such monuments were actively erected and preserved as witnesses of history, then, against the background of global change in ideology, they are actively dismantled and destroyed.

Therefore, the processes of mass and often spontaneous demolition of totalitarian monuments during the Russian-Ukrainian war are natural. In connection with this, the question arises of what to do with these monuments: whether to destroy them completely, rebuild and give them a different meaning, or to transfer them to special museums of totalitarianism, as was done in Lithuania – if these objects have an artistic value and were created by famous artists. At the same time, such works should be evaluated by specialists with appropriate education.

In December 2022, the Seimas of Lithuania adopted a law on de-Sovietization, the essence of which is to prohibit the propaganda of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes [6]. It is on the basis of this law that planned removal of monuments of totalitarianism from public spaces takes place in parallel with the renaming of streets. The same law prohibits mentioning people involved in repressive punitive bodies of the occupation authorities and placing the names of institutions, events or dates that represent totalitarian regimes and their events on public buildings. According to this law, it is forbidden to put up signs that symbolize the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union (1940-1941, 1944-1990) and the Nazi (1941-1944). The ban does not apply to museums, archival institutions, libraries and specialized exhibitions that highlight the consequences of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes.

The task of monitoring compliance with the ban is entrusted to the Lithuanian Genocide Research Center and municipal authorities. A decision protocol on the dismantling and further fate of totalitarian objects has been developed. A commission is created, which issues a decision on dismantling, and the director general of the Genocide Center must sign it no later than five working days after the conclusion of the commission.

However, in Lithuania they do not destroy all sculptures of the Soviet era without exception, but turn them into elements of commerce and tourist attractions, since some were made by famous sculptors and bear characteristics of works of art. In Grutas Park in the south of Lithuania, near the town of Druskininkai, a park of Soviet sculptures dismantled in 1989 was created. Today, this is the world's largest collection of monuments of totalitarianism in the open air, since the museum covers the area of twenty hectares. About a hundred monuments to Lenin, Stalin, communists and Soviet soldiers are exhibited here, and there is a library of Soviet literature and propaganda posters, with a total of 1.5 million exhibits of the Soviet era in the park-museum. Since the authors of the sculptures were outstanding Lithuanian artists, the monuments are treated as works of art.

The ideological park was not created to erase a half-century period from the history of Lithuania, but to show the essence of Soviet ideology and its consequences, in order to eliminate nostalgia for those times among younger generations. That is why, in addition to the monuments, there are exhibits here that remind us of Soviet deportations and camps – a wagon once used to transport Lithuanians to Siberia and watchtowers of detention camps.

Since the park is a commercial and tourist object, it presents the atmosphere of those years as fully as possible, including Soviet songs from speakers and a dining room with authentic dishes and food products of the Soviet times.

### The experience of decommunization of works of art during the Russian-Ukrainian war

The experience of Poland and Lithuania is useful for Ukrainian cities, because the problem of dismantling is very acute, and these processes are often exacuted spontaneously. In Kyiv, activists once sawed off the horse's leg on the Shchors monument, later covered with shields. The leg was then supplemented with plaster, but after the shields were removed, the pedestal had been covered with inscriptions (Fig. 6). The same thing happened with the monument to Ostrovsky in front of the Kyiv Electromechanical College (Fig. 7) and with the monument to Pushkin in the former Pushkin Park (Fig. 6). Another monument, the bronze bust of Mykola Ostrovskyi in the former Ostrovskyi Park (now Solomyanskyi Park), was dismantled in 2016. The bronze bust of Pushkin (1899) – the oldest monument to Pushkin in Kyiv, located in front of the National Transport University, was removed from its pedestal in October 2022 in honor of one of the heroes who died in the Russian-Ukrainian war and after Russia's massive missile attack on the territory of Ukraine.

On November 15, 2022, the monument to Pushkin in the former Pushkin Park in Kyiv was dismantled (Fig. 8).



Fig. 6. Shchors' monument in Kyiv. Photo by Yu. Ivashko, 2022

Fig. 7. Mykola Ostrovskyi's monument in Kyiv. Photo by Yu. Ivashko, 2023





Fig. 8. Pushkin's monument in Kyiv. Photo by Yu. Ivashko, 2022

However, the processes of dismantling monuments of the totalitarian era in Kyiv began several years before the Revolution of Dignity. As an example, we can mention the dismantled Chubar monuments (1970-2009) at the intersection of Odradnyi Avenue and Heroes of Sevastopol Street, a monument to Korotchenko (1974-2015) at the entrance to Nyvky Park, a monument to Komsomol (Young Communist League) members of the 1920s (1961-2015) in Nyvky Park, a monument to Lenin (1946-2013) on the corner of Shevchenko Boulevard and Khreschatyk Street, the monument to Kosior (1970-2008) in the park at the intersection of Sichovyh Striltsiv and Hlybochytska streets. In October 2020, a monument to UNR Colonel Bolbochan was installed on the pedestal of the Kosior monument. A monument to Chekists (1967-2016) was dismantled on Lybidska Square, although attempts to damage the monument continued in 2009, 2014 and 2016.

Monuments that commemorate the events of the Second World War should be considered separately. Some have been changed and given the actual character of the times of the Russian-Ukrainian war (Fig. 9).

In the case of the described example, dismantling was not necessary. The monument simply acquired a different symbolic meaning, as the tank can symbolize both the events of the Second World War and the modern events of the Russian-Ukrainian war. The modification involved a change of attributes, such as the image of a yellow-blue flag.



Fig. 9. A Soviet tank with a Ukrainian flag on Peremohy Avenue. Photo by Yu. Ivashko, 2022.

The authors have stated that the Russian-Ukrainian war led to the dismantling of the memory not only of the Soviet period, but also of the Russian Empire. Today, the processes of decolonization and decommunization are also taking place at the same time.

Poltava is one of the few Ukrainian cities where many monuments of Russian imperial propaganda were preserved in Soviet times. Some of them, such as the Glory monument located in the center of the city (in honor of the victory of Russian troops in the Battle of Poltava in 1709), are important for urban planning and architecture, and the issue of their possible dismantling is quite difficult. However, in attempts to neutralize their propaganda effect, the local patriotic public showed ingenuity and a variety of approaches.

With the beginning of the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014, the national yellow-blue flag and the red-black flag of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (which is mostly perceived as a combat version of the national flag in modern Ukraine) were installed over the Glory Monument located in the center of Poltava's Round Square (Fig. 10).

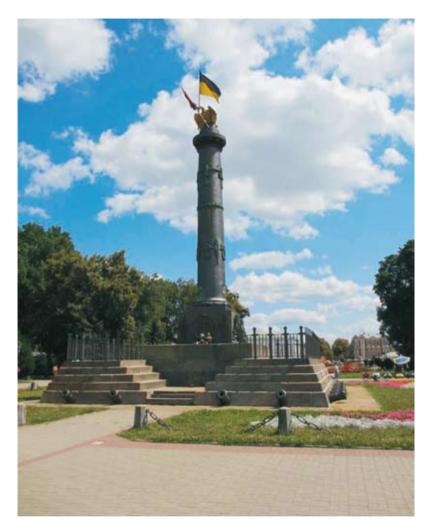


Fig. 10. The Glory Monument on the Round Square in Poltava with raised flags. Photo by A. Dmytrenko, 2023

After the beginning of a large-scale invasion of Russia, the monument at the resting place of Peter I after the Battle of Poltava in 1709 was first covered with a construction net in the colors of the national flag, and then wrapped in a dark green camouflage net decorated with motivational inscriptions (e.g., "You're holding up great!", "Everything will be Ukraine!", etc.) and the top was decorated with a Ukrainian trident (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11. The monument at the resting place of Peter I. Photo by A. Dmytrenko, 2023

As for the monuments to the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin and the Soviet military leader Mykola Vatutin, their cultural and artistic value was not considered so significant, and they were dismantled by the decision of the Poltava City Council in July 2023 (Fig. 12, 13).



Fig. 12. The pedestal of the monument to Pushkin in Poltava, whose bust was dismantled. Photo by A. Dmytrenko, 2023.

These are just some examples which show that the process of decommunization intensified even before 2013, later after the Revolution of Dignity and ATO, and is now gaining momentum during the Russian-Ukrainian war. However, unlike in Lithuania, it has not acquired an organized character. Creating a park of sculptures of totalitarianism in Ukraine is unlikely to succeed, since a lot of the monuments have already been distorted or destroyed.



Fig. 13. The pedestal of the former Vatutin monument in Poltava after dismantling the bust. Photo by A. Dmytrenko, 2023.

#### **Conclusions**

The events of the Russian-Ukrainian war exacerbated the problem of the fate of monuments of the totalitarian period: bas-reliefs, sculptures, sculptural groups and mosaics. Now, the process has acquired a spontaneous uncontrolled character and these objects are simply being destroyed. Taking into account the

experience of Poland and Lithuania, the next stage of dismantling may involve numerous monuments to Soviet liberators installed in public places and cemeteries (Fig. 8). However, for most of Ukraine, this issue is much more complicated and sensitive than for Poland or the Baltic countries. The ancestors of many Ukrainians fought in the ranks of the Red Army during the Second World War, and the majority of the population today does not perceive these monuments as monuments to the occupiers.

The authors have analyzed the experience of decommunization in Lithuania and ways of commercializing this problem through the creation of totalitarian sculpture parks, since in many cases these sculptures were created by the best sculptors and artists at a high artistic level. Considering the psychological aspect of the society's reaction to these objects during the hot phase of the war, one of the options may be the centralized dismantling of these objects, their storage until the end of the war, and a creation of a totalitarian sculpture park after some time, as was done in Lithuania.

A similar path was followed in Lviv, where, in 2022, some sculptures from the "Hill of Glory" memorial were dismantled, and this did not cause a negative reaction among the local population.

However, the vast majority of monuments to the soldiers of the Red Army in Ukraine, installed in villages and small towns, are concrete sculptures of dubious quality, which are poorly preserved and have an unpresentable appearance, requiring a lot of maintenance funds. At the same time, community members perceive such monuments as ones built to honour their own ancestors who died during the Second World War (in the Center, East and South of Ukraine).

A possible solution, psychologically and economically acceptable for the local community, involves replacing such monuments with non-figurative ones (stelae or obelisks) with the names of the dead. Similar monuments to the victims of the First World War are common in Western Europe and do not carry any ideological load – only function as memorials.

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# PROBLEMATYKA POMNIKÓW OKRESÓW TOTALITARNYCH W KONTEKŚCIE WOJNY ROSYJSKO-UKRAIŃSKIEJ (streszczenie)

Przedmiotowy artykuł został poświęcony problematyce pomników, które upamiętniały postaci oraz wydarzenia związane z okresem komunizmu tj. okresem od lat 50. do końca lat 80. XX wieku. Wówczas to w krajach będących w strefie wpływów Związku Radzieckiego w wieloraki sposób (pomniki, nadawanie ulicom konkretnych nazw) podkreślano zasługi i wkład jakie ZSRR miał w wyzwolenia i rozwój takich krajów Polska czy Ukraina. Pomniki te na przestrzeni lat stały się ważnymi elementami krajobrazu kulturowego większych i mniejszych miast na terenie obu krajów. Po zakończeniu okresu komunizmu pozostało szereg takich obiektów, które upamiętniały ten trudny i bolesny okres dziejowy. W Polsce obiekty te były usuwane, a ulicom nadano inne

nazwy, ale na Ukrainie pomniki w większości pozostały ponieważ upatrywano w nich przede wszystkim wartości artystyczne. Teraz, w okresie wojny Ukrainy z Rosją obiekty te jednak są postrzegane już zupełnie inaczej pognębiając niechęć społeczeństwa do bezwzględnego agresora jakim jest Rosja.

Słowa kluczowe: Ukraina, Polska, okres komunizmu, pomniki, dziedzictwo kulturowe

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